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ABSTRACT

Findings of in-depth interviews with ten delinquent girls in Hawaii are presented and analyzed in this report. The girls interviewed were participants in a short-term residential treatment program or students at an alternative school for boys and girls who have been adjudicated and who have had school difficulties. Following a brief introduction, the paper provides an overview of previous studies on female crime and delinquency. Next, study methodology and procedures are explained. Next, these topics are discussed: demography; variety of offenses; school; the good girl-bad girl dilemma; sex roles; sexual history; family constitution; loneliness; violence and abuse; and sexual abuse. Finally, a concluding section summarizes major findings. While the girls studied come from widely diverse ethnic groups, they are overwhelmingly drawn from lower-income families. Moreover, they tend to come from highly unstable family environments characterized by high degrees of violence and abuse. Outside of the home, the girls face a number of dilemmas pertaining to peers, future aspirations, and sexuality. The girls express highly traditional sex role attitudes, see marriage and family life as a means of escape and as a way of bringing stability to their lives. A sample interview is appended. (KH)

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"EVERYTHING JUST GOING DOWN THE DRAIN"

INTERVIEWS WITH FEMALE DELINQUENTS IN HAWAII

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YOUTH DEVELOPMENT & RESEARCH CENTER

REPORT NO. 319
OCTOBER 1985

"EVERYTHING JUST GOING DOWN THE DRAIN"

INTERVIEWS WITH FEMALE DELINQUENTS IN HAWAII

By

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Jan Koroki
Meda Chesney-Lind

ABSTRACT

This study examines the causes of female delinquency. In-depth interviews with ten delinquent girls in Hawaii reveal that, contrary to recent speculation, the women's movement has little to do with juvenile female criminality. The constraints of the traditional female sex role, do, however, play a major role in their misbehavior.

The interviews reveal that these girls do not see themselves as delinquent. Rather, they have been thrust into behaviors that result in their involvement with the juvenile justice system because of severe family problems--inluding physical and sexual abuse. Running away from homes characterized by abuse, has caused these girls to be arrested and, in most cases, detained as status offenses. The girls also experience problems at school. Encountering the costs associated with poverty, they solve these by seeking recognition and popularity through becoming "bad." The interviews reveal the role played by poverty in female delinquency; both their school problems and the violence, abuse, and disruption the girls experience at home are not atypical for low income adolescents. The girls typically hope to escape from their present situation by marriage to men who, like their fathers, stepfathers, and brothers, abuse them. Wedded to traditional and rigid sex roles, these girls see no other way out, and their fantasies, while enabling them to deal with the loneliness of the present, guarantee nothing but another generation of "bad" girls in the future.

INTRODUCTION

Female juvenile offenders have traditionally been ignored by those building theories of delinquent behavior. As a consequence, although there are a large number of books and articles on crime and the criminal justice system, most concern themselves with the male criminal. The unique experience of the female juvenile offender has, until recently, eluded serious examination, and was at best, dealt with as a special category of delinquent behavior.

Moreover, the work of the few theorists who did attempt to discuss the female delinquent was plagued by myths and stereotypes about female behavior. Female crime was all too frequently attributed to uncontrolled sex drives and hormonal inbalances caused by menstruation and menopause. Many other theorists were drawn to the notion that girls and women are passive, non-violent in nature and innately moral in character. Female criminals, by default, were labeled "fallen women" who suffered from some physical or mental pathology. These and similar themes frequent the early work on female crime, and continue to influence current attitudes toward the female offender.

Clearly, there is a need to look beyond these stereotypical notions about female crime and delinquency. Female delinquents' motivations are as complex as those of their male counterparts though not necessarily similar. Traditional explanations of female crime and delinquency need to be re-assessed, and tested empirically in order to make progress in this area. It is hoped that this exploratory study will contribute this effort to create a better understanding of the etiology of female delinquency.

The female delinquent is a unique individual with a complex history; explanation of her behavior request careful attention to this complexity.

ETIOLOGY OF FEMALE CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Early Theorists

In 1895 Cesare Lombroso published The Female Offender, one of the first scholarly studies devoted to the criminality of women. Lombroso drew from the concepts of ativism and social Darwinism to explain the phenomena of crime. Although most of his assertions were latter discounted, Lombroso was among the first to take a quantitative and qualitative look at crime in society.

According to Lombroso, all criminal elements in society could be explained as "biological throwbacks" -- the result of arrested evolutionary processes. Deviants and criminals were thought to be less highly evolved than the normal, law-abiding citizen. Criminals were often marked by "primitive traits" such as moles, obesity, hairy bodies and receeding foreheads.

Lombroso created a social hierarchy ranging from the most highly developed white male, to the most primitive, the non-white female. It was argued that women criminals were less identifiable and showed fewer signs of degeneration primarily because they had evolved less so than men. Because of their sedentary nature and biologically determined roles as child caretakers, women were thought to occupy a lower evolutionary level. Males, who engaged in more challenging and independent activities, were believed to have made greater evolutionary advances.

In his examination of women, Lombroso maintained that females were congenitally less inclined toward crime than men, making the female criminal a rare occurence. Although often childlike,

jealous and vengeful in nature, these female traits were tempered by maternity, piety, weakness and an underdeveloped intelligence. When she did choose to deviate, women were thought to make the most vile criminals of all excelling in cunning, spite and deceitfulness. Women criminals were thought extremely masculine in character, possessing the traits of male criminals accented by the worst qualities in women. Lombroso professed that the female criminal possessed no maternal instinct -- an undoubtable mark of her degeneracy.

Although Lombroso's work is largely considered outdated, his concepts of the "natural role" and "true nature of women" continued to influence more recent studies in the area of women and crime.

In 1950, Otto Pollak published his work, The Criminality of Women--a book which continued in much the same spirit. Pollack noted statistically that crimes committed by women were substantially lower than those commited by men. Pollak focused on the importance of biological and psychological factors working together to account for female crime and the low official arrest rates for women. He maintained that women offenders were more deceitful than men and located this ability in their passive role taken during intercourse. Women, he felt, were able to conceal or manufacture sexual arousal while men were not so privileged as they had to achieve erection. He further notes:

> It cannot be denied that this basic physiological difference may well have a great influence of the degree of confidence which the two sexes have in the possible concealment and thus on their character pattern in this respect. (Pollak, 1950: 10)

By Pollak, menstruation, menopause and pregnancy were thought to cause physiological imbalances weakening moral inhibitors and thus being a causative factor in female crime. Pollak maintained that such biological givens determined one's inclinations towards criminal behavior.

Typical of more recent work in this area is Cowie, Cowie and Slater's Delinquency in Girls (1968). While the authors explored the environmental factors highly correlated with female delinquency, they, too, emphasized the role played by anatomy in the production of differences in male and female delinquency:

> ...the masculine or feminine pattern of development of personality is related to biological and somatic differences, including differences in hormonal balance and these would at the ultimate remove be derived from chromosomal differences between the sexes. (Cowie, Cowie and Slater, 1968: 170)

Elsewhere, however, they do note that social factors may also play a role in female behavior:

> The female mode of personality, more timid, more lacking in enterprise, may guard her against delinquency. (Cowie, Cowie and Slater: 167)

In general, though, girls and women according to the earliest theories were controlled largely by their sexuality. This approach neglects the role played by gender, class or ethnicity as these are not viewed as pertinent in understanding female criminology. All females were assumed to be of passive temperament, with dependency and maternal inclinations regardless of individual variety.

Sex Role Theory and Research on Delinquent Girls

Sex role theorists, in contrast to the biological and psychological approach to female crime, emphasize the importance of gender or sex role in their analysis of the phenomenon of female crime.

One of the earliest of these theorists, George Grosser (1951), examined sex role socialization and its effects on the character and frequency of female delinquency. He attributed lower female crime rates to differential socialization practices for male and female children. Such socialization practices were seen as paramount in the shaping and development of basic personality characteristics which, it was felt, consequently made it less likely for women to participate in criminal activity. Deviance was attributed to an excessive adherence to masculine characteristics, and similarly, the typical delinquent described as a mischievous male.

The connection between differential arrest rates and differential socialization was further emphasized in the work of Hoffman-Bustamante (1973). Hoffman-Bustamante recognized the influence of varying role expectations and sex differences in socialization patterns and distribution of social controls on female misbehavior.

> Females are more closely supervised and more strictly disciplined in our society. Yet social control in the form of informal sanctions applied by primary and secondary groups is imposed more consistently and for more minor deviation of accepted standards. This results in a situation where females have been taught to conform to more rigid standards and rewarded for such behavior, whereas males are told to conform, yet rewarded for flaunting many conventional standards (Hoffman-Bustamante, 1973:120).

It was recognized that there was a greater effort to impress girls (rather than boys) about morally wrong and inappropriate behavior. As such, it could be expected that a greater level of conformity would result in females. Girls were generally more highly supervised than boys and were taught to be passive, non-violent, and domesticated. Significantly boys were encouraged to be independent and aggressive, were given less supervision and generally given more freedom.

Ruth Morris (1965) introduced yet another factor involved in female behavior and crime. Since girls were expected to abide by stricter moral standards, Morris hypothesized that a stronger sense of guilt and disapproval would accompany deviant action. Morris discovered that girls experienced a greater amount of shame than boys when questioned about their involvement with the police. Morris asserted that typical role expectations allowed boys to be mischievous yet condemned girls for similar actions making them less likely to admit to their deviant behavior.

The study of socialization patterns and gender expectations have contributed to the overall understanding of female crime and delinquency. However, while role theory provides a platform from which to discuss why women are less likely to deviate, it does little to explain why a considerable number of women do involve themselves in delinquency and crime. Role theory, then, fails to explore motivation and intent as an integral part of female crime. While significant in its contributions, then, role theory still provides only a limited perspective on female crime and misbehavior.

Role theory did recognize the importance of gender in the production of female crime. It also provided the foundation for the notion that as the female role changes, women might be more likely to engage in criminal and delinquent behavior. The emancipation of women, with its commitment to challenging the subordinate status of women in society, seemed according to this perspective, to increase female participation in criminal activity. Equality, it was feared, would invariably catapult women into the realm of serious and violent crimes.

The Women's Movement and Female Crime

In the early 60's, the civil rights movement swept across the country challanging Americans to reaffirm their belief in equality. Civil rights supporters called for fair and equal recognition of all individuals regardless of age, color, or sex. Women's rights supporters took advantage of the climate created by the civil rights movement and formed independent movements calling specific attention to the problems of women.

With the rise of the women's movement came a growing concern among some criminologists that the emancipation of women would invariably lead to an upsurge in female participation in criminal activity. As women began to imitate men, it was thought that women would also become more criminal and more violent. During the early 1970s, it was a widely held belief that the Women's Movement was directly and casually related to increased female crime. Between 1960 and 1975 statistics compiled by the FBI and the U.S. Department of Justice showed that the number of women

arrested in America had increased by nearly 200% (Chesney-Lind, 1978). Simon (1975) and Adler (1975, 1978) were among the first to attribute the rising crime rate to the impact of the women's movement It was both Simon's and Adler's belief that economic independence and social and psychological liberation had contributed to a rise in more serious forms of female criminality.

In Women and Crime, Simon examined the statistical picture of female crime over several decades, compiling data on the number and types of crimes committed by women, as well as data on conviction and sentencing. Simon believed that certain types of female crimes were likely to increase and cited expanding occupational opportunities for women as the probable cause. She noted that increased arrest rates of women for "white collar" crimes such as embezzlement and theft could largely be attributed to women's gains in employment.

In 1975, Freda Adler published her work, Sisters in Crime which supported Simon's linkage of the women's movement tc female crime. Adler saw a "darker side" to liberation saying that:

> In the same way that women are demanding equal opportunity in the fields of legitimate endeavor, a similar number of determined women are forcing their way into the world of major crimes ... as the position of women approximates the position of men, so does the frequency and type of their criminal activity (Adler, 1975: 11, 251).

Adler noted that the women's movement had changed the traditional attitudes toward acceptable behavior for women and had also opened up opportunities previously unavailable to female criminals. While the women's movement had allowed women to make

gains in the financial arena, Adler also believed that it had allowed women to make gains in the criminal sphere as well.

While a number of articles and collections have supported the link between the women's movement and the female crime problem, the "liberation" hypothesis had also drawn its share of criticism. Laura Crites' The Female Offender (1976), Carol Smart's Women, Crime and Criminology (1976), Lee Bowker's Women, Crime and Criminal Justice (1978), and the work of Darrell Steffensmeir's (1978, 1980) criticize traditional notions of female crime and mark the beginning of serious feminist efforts to understand the female offender. Concern was given to the neglect of women in prison, sexist laws, discriminatory treatment in the justice system and paternalism. In addressing the "liberation" hypothesis, these works soundly reject any connection between the women's movement and increased crime. These authors contend that women have not experienced any major gains in the economic world and have not, therefore, been exposed to any new "opportunities" in the way of crime. In examining the demographic information of female offenders, Laura Crites found that female offenders were most often poor, uneducated women from minority groups. She did not find evidence to support the existance of the new, liberated female criminal. Instead her figures confirmed that:

> In spite of the women's movement, unemployment, underemployment and poverty are visited mostly on women and disproportionately on minority women (Crites, 1976: 37).

Another challenge to the link between liberation and female crime notes that changes in female crime began before the women's

movement had an impact. As Darrell Steffensmier observes:

> Female increases occurred uniformly during 1960 and 1975 time period, suggesting that other forces in socialization was already providing an impetus for changing patterns of female crime well before the initial rise of the women's movement ment (Steffensmier, 1978: 579).

In examination of crime levels and female criminal behavior patterns (1965-1977) Steffensmier contends that females are not entering into the sphere of male crimes and have primarily made gains in "traditionally female activities" such as shoplifting and prostitution. Moreover, Steffensmier also considers changes in enforcement patterns, for example, growing public concern with welfare fraud and increased willingness of stores to press charges against shoplifters, as alternative explanations of increased female crime rates.

Claims of an increase in serious and violent female crimes were also questioned and reexamined. In their review of the arrest figures, Laura Cites and Carol Smart both note that "dramatic" increases in the numbers of women arrested were based on extremely small and possibly unreliable numbers" (Chesney-Lind, 1984: 6). Crites states that figures in support of increased female violence are highly misleading and states that:

> ... because of traditionally fewer women have been arrested than men, any increase in female arrests is likely to result in a higher percentage "rate of increase" (Crites, 1976: 35).

Arrest figures were not adjusted for changes in population compositions and had consequently appeared alarmingly high. It should

also be noted that fluctuations in the female crime rate are quite common. Crites, in sum, sees little validity to the myth of the new, violent female criminal. She concludes:

> The violent nature of female crime has not increased however. Females constituted 10 percent of the arrests for violent crimes in 1960 and that figure has remained constant. (Crites, 1976: 35).

While the connection of female crime to female liberation has been popular and well publicized, it has also been heavily critiqued. In light of the impact of the works of Smart, Crites, Steffensmier and their contemporaries, it appears that the "liberation" hypothesis has been poorly documented and at best, is quite simplistic in its implications.

Gisela Konopka and the Present Study

While much was contributed by early theorists, sex role theorists, the "liberation hypothesis" and the "feminist" approach to female criminality another, and neglected, dimension of female crime and deliquency was provided in Gisela Konopka's The Adolescent Girl In Conflict (1966). In this work, Konopka explores crime through the eyes of the "criminal" herself emphasizing the importance of self-perceptions and personal history to the overall understanding of female criminality. Konopka conducted a series of in-depth interviews with girls whose behavior problems had brought them to the attention of the courts. In her attempt to understand what factors bring young girls into conflict with society, Konopka broke new ground in the understanding of girls'

problems. Konopka relied heavily on personal interviews and senarios to provide information on the female offender's perception of her behavior and her options. Unlike previous theorists who speculated about the female offender and her problems, Konopka let these girls speak for themselves, allowing them to put it in their own words. Her emphasis on teenage pregnancy, loneliness and low self esteem provide important, but frequently neglected, perspectives on girls' delinquency.

It becomes apparent that the female juvenile offender is a rather complex and poorly understood topic. Quite frequently, attitudes regarding the maternal, passive, "feminine" nature of women have found their way into the literature on female deviance leading double-standards for evaluating behavior and little understanding of the female delinquent herself.

This study stresses the importance of delinquents' own perception as revealed in indepth interviews. As in Konopka's work, heavy emphasis is placed on these personal accounts as a way of seeking to understand the etiology of female deviance. By doing so, it is hoped that greater sensitivity towards the problems of adolescent girls be achieved and more effective interventions can be developed.

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

This study utilizes a 183 item interview schedule, based on one developed by Chesney-Lind and Rodriquez for interviews with adult female inmates (Chesney-Lind and Rodriquez, 1983). The schedule used in this research was adapted by Rodriquez for use with girls in the juvenile justice system and consist primarily of open-ended questions relating to home environment, delinquent history, family relationships, attitudes toward sexuality, drug use, and personal goals and expectations (see Appendix A). The format of the interview encouraged personal exploration frequently using phrases such as "how does that make you feel" and "what were you thinking then". The intent was to allow the girl to tell her story or to tell things as she perceived them as occurring.

Contact was made with Corbett House and Palama Settlement's In-Community Treatment Program for participants in the interviewing process. Both agencies were cooperative and granted permission to interview their residents and female program participants.

Corbett House is a short-term residentual treatment program for female juvenile offenders. Stay at the home is limited to 90 days after which time the girls are either reunited with the family, placed in a foster home, or transferred to another social agency for further treatment. The Palama Settlement In-Community Treatment Program is an alternative school for both males and females who have been adjudicated and who have had previous difficulties in the school environment. Participants are given individual learning programs with the eventual goal of returning the youth to the regular school system.

The girls were introduced to the interview through a prepared paragraph summarizing the purpose and intent of the study (see Appendix A). Participation was voluntary and subjects selected on a random basis primarily depending upon who was willing and available to talk.

Over a six month period, interviews were conducted with ten girls. Each interview was quite extensive, lasting between 2-4 hours each, and each interview was conducted in private. Sessions were tape recorded and the responses then organized around themes that emerged from the interviews.

RESULTS

Demographic Information

While the number of interviews conducted in this research effort was admittedly small (N=10), this is counterbalanced by the richness and depth of the information obtained. All these girls had been brought to the attention of the juvenile court, and for this reason, an appreciation of the factors involved in their delinquency could well advance the understanding of female juvenile offenders.

Subjects ranged from 12-17 years of age with a mean age of 14.9. The ethnicity of the group was highly diverse reflecting the cosmopolitan, racially mixed culture in Hawaii (see Table 1). Of those interviewed, eight were "hapa," identifying themselves with two or more ethnic groups, one was Japanese and one was an American Indian. Six of these girls identified their family's financial situation as lower class or very poor, three said they belonged to an upper social class, and one girl identified her family's financial situation as "rich". Probing these responses further, however, revealed that of the three girls who identified their home situation as "upper-middle class", one lives in the Palolo housing area and the other grew up in New York "in the slums" as she later notes during her interview. It is likely, then, that these two would fall in the "lower middle" or "very poor" category as well. Adjusted percentages would then put 80% of the respondents in the "lower-middle" or "very poor", 10% in the "upper-middle" class and 10% categorized as "rich".

Table 1

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF DELINQUENT GIRLS

Age	Ethnicity	Family Economic Situation	Current Offense
16	French/German/Indian/ Italian/Spanish	Very Poor	Runaway
15	American/Indian	Lower Middle	Shoplifting
16	French/Polish	Lower Middle	Shoplifting
12	Chinese/Hawaiian/Portu- guese/Puerto Rican	Lower Middle	Runaway
15	Black/Puerto Rican/White	Upper Middle	Runaway
15	Black/French/German/ Indian/Irish/Italian/ Mexican/Micronesian/ Polish	Very Poor	Truancy
15	Japanese	Upper Middle	Runaway
17	Filipino/Guamanian/ Hawaiian/Japanese	Lower Middle	Runaway
14	Chinese/Hawaiian/Indian Irish/Japanese	Upper Middle	Shoplifting
14	Chinese/Hawaiian/ Portuguese/Russian	Rich	Runaway
Mean age = 14.7 yrs.	80% - Hapa 10% - Japanese 10% - American	10% - Rich 30% - Upper Mid 40% - Lower Mid 20% - Very Poor	60% - Runaway 30% - Shop- lifting 10% - Truancy

While economic status is one way of determining social class, parental education and occupational prestige were also important. Once these factors were taken into consideration, all the girls came from blue-collar, working-class families. With regard to the educational status of the girls' biological parents, only three of the twenty parents had some college education. Half of the parents (eight mothers and two fathers) had completed high school, while a quarter (including four fathers) were said to have dropped out

prior to the ninth grade. (The educational status of two of the girls' fathers were not known by their daughters.) Occupations fell into traditional male/female categories with fathers frequently working in construction or as groundskeepers and maintenance men and mothers occupying jobs such as cashier, waitress, maid and bank teller. The mother of the girl who classified her family situation as "rich," owns and operates a bar, allowing high income without elevated class status (see Table 2).

Table 2

OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION LEVEL OF GIRL'S PARENTS

Current Parental Occupation		Education (Last Grade Completed)	
Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Cosmetolgoist	Groundskeeper	High School	8th grade
Groundskeeper	Groundskeeper	High School	High School
Christian Counselor	Navy Worker	College	College
Waitress/Cashier	Construction	High School	Unsure
Bank Teller	College Related	High School	College
Hotel Maid	Construction	High School	Unsure
Receptionist	Construction	High School	High School
Pantry Worker	Groundskeeper	4th grade	2nd grade
Waitress	Busdriver	High School	6th grade
Bar Owner	Construction	High School	8th grade
		70% High School	20% High School
		20% Unsure	30% Unsure
		10% College	30% College
		10% Dropout	30% Dropout

Variety of Offenses

The interviews showed extensive experimentation with drugs

and alcohol with nine of the girls reporting drug use at some point in their lives. Their self-reported drug use included episodes with cocaine, acid, speed, valium, pain killers and barbituates with pakalolo (marijuana) by far, being named as the "favorite" (see Table 3). Drugs were used extensively by this group; three girls using drugs daily and three girls using drugs regularly on a weekly basis. Only three girls reported infrequent use, with one of these three a previous "daily" user who recently quit, and one girl who reported no use at all. Said one girl of her drug use "Everyday, constantly, as much as possible. When I'm sober, I don't feel right."

Table 3

SELF-REPORTED DRUG USE OF DELINQUENT GIRLS

Drug Usage	Drugs Used	Frequency
Yes	alcohol, cocaine, pakalolo	daily
Yes	acid, alcohol, cocaine, downers, speed, pakalolo	3X week
Yes	alcohol, pakalolo	previously daily now 1X month
Yes	acid, alcohol, cocaine, pakalolo, speed, codeine	daily
No	----	----
Yes	alcohol, ludes, pakalolo, speed,	previously daily (recently quit)
Yes	pakalolo, speed	1X week
Yes	alcohol	1X every 3 months
Yes	alcohol, cocaine, pakalolo	4-5X only
Yes	alcohol, black beauties, cocaine, pakalolo, pain killers, valium	1X week
90% yes 10% no		60% daily or weekly usage 30% infrequent use 10% no use at all

Seven of those interviewed attributed their drug use to peer influence and two reportedly got involved out of curiosity. One girl admitted the drugs had caused her problems, the other eight however, felt they could "handle" the drugs well and as such, did not see their drug use as causing any difficulties.

While the types of offenses committed by these girls (as measured by the self-report scale in the interview) were quite extensive, most had been formally arrested for status offenses with six girls being detained for runaway and one for truancy. Three other girls had been picked up for shoplifting (see Table 1). With reference to their self-reported offenses, eight girls reported shoplifting, all had driven a car without a permit, six had taken someone else's wallet/purse, six reportedly sold drugs, eight reported destroying public or private property (primarily graffiti) and nine have carried a knife or gun for protection. Nine out of ten reported running away from home. Girls had been in detention home anywhere from 1-5 times with an average of two stays at Hale Ho'omalu.

When asked how they felt about their crimes, five girls said that they would not do them again if given another chance, saying they "had regrets" or felt it was "not worth it". Three girls said they would repeat their offenses and responded by saying "I had a reason" or "it didn't bother me". Two girls were unsure and reported having mixed feelings about their crimes. On the one hand, the crimes were recognized as being wrong, but on the other, says one girl, "some of it <u>was</u> fun".

In general, none of the ten girls spoke in depth about their

Table 4

VARIETY OF OFFENSES COMMITTED

Shoplifting	Driving Without a Permit	Driving Drunk	Driving Wrecklessly	Taken Car Without Owner's Knowledge	Taken Something $3 or Less	$3 to $50	Over $50	Used Another's Check or Credit Card	Taken Money, Wallet or Purse	Beaten Someone Up	Carried a Gun or a Knife	Destroyed Public or Private Property	Sold Drugs	Used a Phony ID	Sold Something Stolen	Ran Away from Home	Truancy or Cutting Class	Placed on School Probation or Detention	Times in DH	
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	3	Girl 1
x	x	x		x		x			x		x		x		x	x	x	x	1	Girl 2
x	x	x				x			x		x	x	x			x	x	x	5	Girl 3
x	x				x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	1	Girl 4
x	x		x		x						x	x			x	x	x	x	3	Girl 5
x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	1	Girl 6
x	x							x			x	x	x			x	x	x	1	Girl 7
	x										x					x	x	x	2	Girl 8
	x											x				x	x	x	2	Girl 9
x	x				x				x		x	x		x		x	x	x	2	Girl 10
8	10	4	2	2	5	5	3	3	6	1	8	8	6	1	4	9	10	10		

Average number of times in detention home = 2

feelings towards their crimes. Although there were a number of questions pertaining to their experiences with the police and with the courts, responses to such questions were quite short.

It appears that these girls do not consider themselves criminals, nor do they see crime as any major part of their lives. For the most part, their behavior appears to be a response to other problems and difficulties being experienced at the time. A number of the girls note that their difficulties at home, and pressures in school and with peers, often moved them toward their "offenses". "K", a 16-year-old originally from Molokai, is a good example of this. Physically and sexually abused at home, she ran away in ran away in order to bring attention to her problems. With some frustration, relates her experience:

> "I ran away so many times. I tried anything man and they wouldn't believe me...As far as they're concerned," she continues, "they think I'm the problem. You know, the runaway...bad label."

Another 15-year-old charged with truancy and for being beyond parental control recalls her court session:

> I felt like a criminal. Like I was I damn fool. I was pissed-off because I didn't belong there. That wasn't the place for me.

In any case, the girls did not think of themselves as delinquent or criminal and felt it was unfair that they were labeled as such. They did not perceive their offenses as crimes in themselves but acts done "because" or "for a reason." The courts and detention homes were "not the place" for them as these girls

indicate that the true source of their difficulties lay elsewhere.

School

In reviewing the educational history of those interviewed, it was found that all ten had skipped school, and also that all ten had been placed on school detention or probation. Ironically, seven of these girls reported liking school saying that it had been a good experience for them. Only two girls said they did not like school, one calling it "junk" and the other saying that she was "tired of it". All ten girls expected to graduate from high school, six felt that their ideal future would include a college degree, one a junior college degree, and one more girl saying that she aspired to go to beauty school. While their educational expectations remain high, four of these girls are currently attending an alternative school for those who had performed poorly in the regular school system, one has been diagnosed as having a learning disability, and at least one more who later related that she had been receiving D's and F's from her teachers.

Most of the girls related fond memories of their "elementary" school days" and used adjectives such as sweet, smart, good and popular to describe their early reputations. Only one girl reported trouble in elementary school saying that she had been reprimanded in class, got into fights and used to talk back to her teachers. As she puts it:

> They said I looked bad so I got labeled as being bad. I wasn't really bad, I just got the label of being bad. So I just say fuck it, I'm bad. Might as well go ahead.

In most cases, there appeared to be both exaggeration and nostalgia about this time in their lives. The girls did not only recall being smart and sweet, but went as far as saying they were the smartest or the sweetest of all.

"Y", a 14-year old diagnosed as being learning disabled, escapes into her younger days by saying:

> I was student of the year. I was the smartest student in my class because I had high grade levels.

Another 12 year-old having difficulty with her transition into intermediate school remembers fondly:

> I was secretary of the whole school. You know when you run for stuff like that. They was nice to me.

The reputations changed drastically as the girls entered the intermediate and high school levels. The girls used words such as rowdy, stoney and tough to describe themselves and their peers. The theme of being tough and being a fighter was repeated several times by these girls as the "scrapy-stoney" attitude was what they described as being "with it". For many, high school appeared to be a time of struggle as the girls yearned to be popular and liked by their peers. "A", a 14 year-old from Palolo recalls a fight that brought her popularity in high school:

> I was nothing. They said, "She one panty, she no can beef like that". Then in eight grade I went lick the bull of eight grade and everybody liked me cuz I could lick 'um.

Only one girl admitted to being a loner but insists that she was collected and admired for being independent. This girl "M", also recalls a fight that catapulted her into popularity:

> She was "Miss it" and I was "Miss not-it". And so after I beat her up, it was like we switched. But being on top was no good either so that's when I became a loner.

In this senario, "M" relates that becoming a loner was her choice and implies that she could have been popular if she had wanted to. When asked about her friends, another 14 year-old calls them:

> The high-class ones. I only stay with the people who stay by themselves.

Just as "M" describes "being a loner" as her rejection of popularity, this girl too seeks to protect herself by saying that the others who stayed by themselves were "high-class".

On a thirteen point self-rating scale with the number one being extremely "with it" and thirteen being extremely "out of it" the average reported scale number for all ten girls was 2.6. Interestingly enough, seven girls rated themselves in the number one "with it" position to indicate how they felt their school peers saw them. When asked to do a similar rating in regards to how "they felt about themselves" (with one being most "well liked" and thirteen being "not liked" at all) the average rating for all ten girls was 2.1.

Popularity, as indicated by these scales, is an extremely important issue with all of these girls. It is important to recognize, however, that, for them popularity was sought through fights,

being tough, taking drugs and the like. Status, for these girls, is gained through means that are clearly at odds with their middle-class career expectations. Their experiences have pushed them in a direction that simply does not fit with their future plans and dreams. The dilemma faced by these girls is actually quite complex: be a good girl and be unliked by working class peers or be a bad girl and forfeit some of those future plans.

The Good Girl-Bad Girl Dilemma

While many of the girls noted that they had been "good", at some point in their lives they all opted to forsake that image. Good girls did their work, went to school, were feminine, virginal, pure, and polite. Says one 14-year-old of her "good girl" days:

> Nobody liked me because I used to do my work. I got along with my teachers...I didn't get along with anybody because I had a wierd attitude.

Being "good" was reported to have a number of consequences. As noted above, good girls aren't very popular (they're "weird"), good girls are restricted and "stale", and simply lead boring lives.

One 17-year-old discusses her decision to move out of her old image to become "more radical" and talks about her old self almost with wonder:

> My parents got divorced about two years ago. That's when I just started to get radical, but I did it on purpose. In a way I wanted to because it was too boring being a good little girl. I was a good little girl. I got all good grades. I would never think of smoking a cigarette, I used to go to church every Sunday. Oh, I used to be a real good little girl.

Being "bad" on the other hand, was described with a sense of recklessness and excitement. The girls related stories of their numerous escapades with vigor and sometimes, almost with a sense of pride. They boasted of their daring, of their toughness, and of their keen trickery.

Such immodesty is displayed in the following account of a successful shoplifting episode:

> I took everything. I mean from pins to make-up, and fingernail polish and fake fingernails. Even toothbrush (laughs). We went over there to go shopping but I told them 'nah, I shop for you guys'. And I went get away...was almost $300. I had two packages full.

Aside from all the excitement, in quieter moments, the girls reflect a different attitude, saying that they recognize the trouble that comes with the excitement, and also feeling that maybe it would be better for them "the other way". These thoughts are expressed with ambivalence, as one girl concludes:

> ...but I like it this way, but I don't know, it would be better for me the other way.

When asked what her life would be like if everything went perfectly and happily from now on, another girl answers:

> It would be tomorrow and I would be at school with all my friends, doing my work and being straight and making my Mom them happy...with square friends.

When asked what may get in the way of this happy life, she turns and replies:

> I don't like square people.

Obviously, these girls are not "prom queens" or cheerleaders and simply cannot afford the nice clothes and jewelry that often bring high school popularity and status. These luxuries are reserved for their middle and upper-middle class schoolmates. In reality, these girls are from low-income families and are not successful academically. Being unable to compete in the middle-class arena, they simply find their options rather limited. It is possible to wear hand-me-down clothes, do the school work and get "C's", but only at the cost of going unnoticed, unrecognized and unseen by their peers. The one option that does remain open is to be the stoney, tough "bad" girl. Of course, while this image may not fit with their future hopes (of being secretaries and career-women), it does bring recognition and status. In any case, being "bad" is by far, much better and much more rewarding than being a "weird", good "nobody".

Sex Roles

Sex roles and the male and female expectations expressed by these girls were shown to fall into stereotype notions of male and female activities. Five of those interviewed felt that the concept of women's liberation was good, three were not even familiar with the term, and two felt that the women's movement was not a good idea at all.

In relation to their personal future expectations, all ten aspired to traditionally female careers; four wanted to be secretaries, one a stewardess, one a beautician, one a tour guide, another a social worker and two aspiring to be mothers or

housewives.

One 15-year-old dreams of marrying her boyfriend, having children and taking care of the home. When asked what she wants to do in life she answers:

> ...be a housewife. I think women belong in the kitchen. In my opinion, I don't think women are suppose to work. But I figure if your not married and its just you and your a woman you should get equal rights then. But me myself and I, I rather sit at home and watch soap operas all day long and play with the kids and stuff.

When asked about the kinds of complaints women may have, the girls noted that: men think they're boss, men have the last say and that women get stuck with the household chores. "R" complains about the unequal division of chores in her house saying:

> My brother, he can go play outside like that, he no need even help and when I tell my mother how come he no need help she goes 'let him go.' The only chore he get is to empty the rubbish, thats all. Me and my mother gotta do everything else.

"T" observes that:

> Women do more...I notice the different roles they play. Men do wooden nails jobs. It doesn't seem they worry about half as much things as women do. Cuz they're mainly in control. I mean when your a couple, he's the one that decides.

Frequently men were described as "the protector" and the "out-doors type" who sleeps, drinks beer and watches football for entertainment. Women, on the other hand, were described as gossipers -- concerned with cleaning the house and watching soap

operas. One girl notices that:

> Men seem to be more outdoors, home to them is a place to eat or sleep and it can be really messy it wouldn't bother them. Women like a clean house, families and a job.

The same girl goes on to comment on how she believes men and women have fun:

> Most (men) party, get drunk...Women like to go to social events and sip champagne, go to parties, tea parties, friends houses and PTA meetings.

Quite similar is the following statement by another girl:

> Men go out after work and don't come home till late. They drink with their buddies and pals and look at sexy girls. And women have fun by watching soap operas.

Yet another girl relates with amazing similarity:

> Just like (my boyfriend), go out, have his his friends over, drink beers, get high, watch football games, talk about shit all night long. I go out shopping for clothes, try on lipstick, makeup, talk on the phone. Do stuff to make themselves more better.

While some theorists have connected crime with the women's movement and increased liberation, these girls express extremely traditional notions regarding males and females. They do not appear to be "liberated crooks," but talk of watching soap operas and complaining about household chores. The liberation hypothesis just does not seem to explain these girls criminality as they appear quite traditional in their expectations and aspirations.

Sexual History

A review of sexual history shows that nine of those interviewed are sexually active and have been active for some time (as young as 11). The average age of first sexual experience was 13.8 years. Although two girls had been incest victims at early ages, both did not consider the abuse as sex in itself and separated these experiences from general questions relating to intercourse. Two of the girls are currently involved in lesbian relationships, but both have experimented with male partners as well and consider themselves bisexual rather than gay.

Two of those interviewed report that they always use birth control and seven report using no protection at all. Of these nine who are sexually active, five have conceived, and of these five, two chose to have an abortion, and three had miscarriages. Interestingly enough, the two who reportedly always used birth control had both been pregnant, one of these girls pregnant twice. (see Table 5).

Family Constitution

In terms of family constitution, eight of the girls come from broken or disrupted homes. Five girls' parents had divorced; one girl was abandoned by mother as a child; one mother died during birth; and one had a parent pass away when she was 13. Of the two families that remain intact, one marriage involves two alcoholic parents, and the other reportedly consists of an abusive father. The majority of girls reported moving several times - with one parent, then another and often times being sent to live with

aunts, grandparents and other extended family.

Table 5

SEXUAL HISTORY OF INTERVIEWEES

Sexually Active	Age of First Experience	Sexual Orientation	Birth Control	Pregnancy or Abortion
Yes	11	bisexual	never	no
Yes	12	heterosexual	never	miscarriage
Yes	14	heterosexual	never	miscarriage
Yes	16	heterosexual	never	no
Yes	16	bisexual	always	miscarriage
Yes	15	heterosexual	never	no
No	--	heterssexual	---	---
Yes	15	heterosexual	never	no
Yes	13	heterosexual	always	abortion twice
Yes	13	heterosexual	never	abortion
90% active 10% inactive	Mean age= 13.8 yrs.	80% hetero. 20% bisex.	70% never 20% always 10% inactive	30% miscarried 20% aborted 50% have not conceived

The girls reported having a number of difficulties dealing with the divorces, new boyfriends, deaths and other changes in their families. Quite often, these events were cited as the cause of their personal problems and "bad" behavior. While extensive comments regarding their crimes and court experiences were absent, comments regarding the family and their difficulties with their families were abundant.

"R", whose father died when she was five years-old, had been living alone with her mother and younger brother until recently

when her mom entered into a new relationship. "R" notes that it was difficult adjusting to "mom's boyfriend" and that his appearance had changed the atmosphere at home. She explains:

> Before I used to be good like that. Never get into trouble. But ever since she started going out with the boyfriend ... He the kine like boss us around and tryin' to make like he our father. And he started doing that and I got mad and I never used to go home after school, just be with my friends then, get in trouble. Then I went run away.

A similar story is heard by "N", who's parents were divorced when "N" was fifteen. "N" was most recently charged with shoplifting but has a long criminal record and admits to stealing cars, purses and money, sexual experimentation with other females, being heavy into drugs and notes several incidences where she "beat-up" on others. She explains her decision to be "bad" by saying":

> When my mom them broke up I just said "well if they're gonna do that then I'm gonna make my own life too" cuz they're changing their way of life. I guess I was trying to be like them.

Yet another fifteen year-old explains of how her father's death affected her and the family's "balance", causing her particular pain and unrest at home. As she puts it:

> My father passed away and that's when all the problems began. Cuz I got a sister, she's like four years older than me. So now my mom pets her and I was pet by my dad. And now my dad is not here and I don't get pet by nobody.

Some of the girls note family difficulties that trace back to

their own birth and early childhood years. These stories were also told with mixed feelings, confusion and ambivilence. The stories were said to "haunt" them or to have "screwed them up" as many are still trying to seek peace with their difficult pasts.

"C"'s mother abandoned her as a child leaving her in the care of her natural father. Her mother maintained only limited contact with her child and father's other children (from previous relationships) thereafter. "C" notes that her father died suddenly in a car accident when she was nine. She reflects on her relationship with her natural mother with mixed feelings:

> In a way I hate her, and then again I love her. But I think the hate takes over more so than the love because I always remember what she did to me when she left me and stuff. She left me with my father ... She was sending presents to my cousins which were in the same house but she wouldn't send me nothing. Then she lies and says she's my sister. You know, she never told me 'til I was fourteen (that she was my mother). I knew but.

Similar feelings of betrayal and ambivalence heard from another sixteen year old who notes that she never met her real father:

> They got divorced when my mom was eight months pregnant with me. He said I wasn't his kid. He has green eyes just like me and the same blood type so he's my father...I don't even know what he looks like.

Nine of the girls note difficulty getting along with one or both parents/step-parents. They spoke of strained relationships, inability to communicate and general frustration over their often

deteriorating family ties. Frequently, the girls noted that they could not talk to their parents or felt misunderstood if they did. Quite often they made mention to feeling alone in their frustration or singled out by mom or dad as being the "bad" one in the family. Says one girl of her mother:

> She can't communicate with me and I can't communicate with her ... We cannot sit down and talk without yelling at each other.

When asked about her relationship with her mother, another sixteen year-old re-emphasized this point by saying:

> There's none. It's like we're total strangers. We don't know each other. I talk to her but its like I only talk to her when I need something. You know, like she only talks to me when she needs something.

A great amount of frustration and anger was expressed as several girls felt unaccepted and unloved by different members of their families. The girls often expressed the pain and anger of being rejected as in the following noted by one fourteen year-old:

> She (mother) tries to ruin my life. She gets into my business, she's real nosey ... She can't accept me for what I am, for what I've done. She tells me to my face she can't accept me ... She wants to mold me into the child she always wanted. But its too late to mold me, I'm already molded.

"T" a fifteen year old from Palolo also feels rejected and senses too, that mom wants her to be something else. She calls herself the blacksheep of the family as she frequently feels compared to her sister:

> We're different. I mean I'm a smoker and she's not. And my mom can't face the fact that I'm different. I keep on telling her you know "eh, I'm not your miss goody-two-shoes. I can't be goody-two-shoes just to please you and please your friends. I'm myself, you can't change that."

"R" a sixteen year old who was picked up on a runaway charge notes similarly of how she was compared to her brother.

> She caters to my brother because my brother looks like her and I look like my father. And she doesn't like my father so she doesn't like me.

Repeated again and again were the cries of being unaccepted, and the consequent fear of being unloved. Stories regarding family relationships and family history were told intensely, with much emotion and detail. The sense of pain and feelings of anger and loss were generally vividly recalled and prompted a flood of stories and senarios to re-emphasize their confusion and to justify their anger. Most difficult was the inability to communicate their distress to other family members. This left the girls to deal with their problems without benefit of family support. When asked what her life would be like if things went perfectly from now on, one girl dreams:

> Things will fall into place ... My mom would change her whole attitude and tell me that I can be the way I am.

These girls, then, come from unstable families, characterized by divorce, abandonment, fights and unrest. Their relationships with parents/step-parents are described as strained, deteriorating,

or non-existent. They have no security at home and note that their troubles at home often serve as the impetus to their problems with the courts and authorities.

Loneliness

Feeling unaccepted by their families and emotionnally distant frome their peers, these girls frequently struggle with feelings of isolation and loneliness. Their friendships are often fleeting the temporary shelters that they frequent:

> "They admired me 'cause I didn't let anything get to me". Says one fifteen year old, "I was a loner. I had a lot of friends but I didn't hang around. I didn't want to get into that.

Later, when asked who she felt had love for her in this world, the same girl replied:

> "Me, that's the only one I'm sure of."

"Y" a fourteen year old currently charged with runaway, tells of her alcoholic and abusive parents. She is currently awaiting foster home placement and speaks of this with dismay:

> I don't know what to think. Everything just going down the drain. That's the only choice I have left.

"Y" recalls her arrest and court experience fondly as she says: "It made me feel like people cared." When asked who loves her, "Y" replies:

> Lots of people. My foster parents and the people at the courts, the police and my boy-friend and my little brother.

"Y" 's reference to the courts, the police, and her unknown foster parents only emphasizes her lack of close relationships. She has, for the most part, substituted institutions and fantasy/ families (i.e. foster parents) for genuine relationships. Her boyfriend, for example, is reported to be out to sea and has been for several months. Again, the support is absent, and the close contact unavailable.

How then, do these girls deal with the loneliness? The interviews revealed three major strategies: 1) fantasy about the future, 2) fantasies about boyfriends, and 3) thoughts about suicide.

Fantasy:

When asked to contemplate about their futures, replies were often vivid and spoken with great detail. Several said that they had dreamed of their ideal, perfect lives before and knew what they desired and hoped to some day achieve. The girls dream of college degrees, swimming pools, even striking oil -- events which, given current circumstances, are unlikely at best. It was heard over and over again that "things will fall into place" and "then I'll have everything that I always wanted". The future, for these girls, holds the hope for happiness.

Boyfriends:

Many of these "perfect futures" involve true love and family and include current boyfriends as prospective husbands. Unable to

gain satisfaction from their own families, these girls seek to escape through marriage. They dream of their own families and yearn to give their children what they never had. Says one girl of her future family and children:

> I would treat them how I'm supposed to. I'd make them feel wanted. I would make them be real happy that they have a mother and father who understands them.

Another girl closes her eyes and dreams of her future with her boyfriend:

> I got kids and stuff. Four or five, and the relationship is going great and I finally got my life together. I'm stable, I'm not like I am right now. He loves me and I love him and I don't love nobody else.

Seven of the girls report having a romantic partner and of these seven, four hope to marry their current boyfriend. Although all four have been pregnant, none have carried their child to term. Two of these girls are almost desperate to have a child and have tried repeatedly to become pregnant. Says one of these girls of her boyfriend:

> I love him more than I love myself. I worship him you know, cuz he's like the person I always wanted to be ... I breathe when he breathes.

It is important to note that of the seven "romantic partners", one has left for the mainland and has not called since, one is out to sea, another is in Hale Kipa (a runaway shelter), one more is on probation, and three are said to be abusive. In reality, then,

two of these boyfriends have physically left the relationship and are, therefore, unavailable to the girls. The other five appear to have a number of personal problems to deal with including interactions with the police and frequent detentions. They also appear to have violent dispositions and short tempers. In spite of their boyfriends' shortcomings, the girls still believe that their "white knights" will rescue them from their lives of pain and conflict. Their beliefs appear to be in total variance with reality as these abusive and troubled boyfriends do not offer much hope, but instead threaten to perpetuate some of the same problems that the girls seek to escape. In their search for stability and hopes for personal fulfillment, the girls chose to ignore these facts and insist on viewing these relationships as wonderful nests of true love.

Suicide:

Eight of the girls admit to suicide attempts at some point in their lives. When asked why, they respond with: "I felt nobody cared" and "I was tired of being angry and frustrated". Three of the attempts followed fights or confrontation with the mother, and one more followed a fight with boyfriend. One girl explains her attempt following a yelling session with her mother:

> Just like everything I did irked her. Like everything I did was wrong and I couldn't cope with it. So I told myself, ah just fuck it.

Another girl contemplates her suicide attempt saying that she thought of it a number of times. Suicide to her, was expressed to

promise release and remove her from her "bad situation". When asked why she tried to cut her wrists she says:

> The fact that I had nothing to live for besides my little brothers. You know, it would probably make things a whole lot easier for me.

While eight of these girls have tried to kill themselves and at least one girl trying on two separate occasions, none have succeeded. Perhaps then death is not their ultimate goal but their attempts only a means of conveying a message. Simply and candidly put, one girl speaks for all as she says:

> "I feel as if I'm not wanted. I'm hurt and destroyed."

Obviously, the personal difficulties and conflicts have taken their toll. Feelings of loneliness and confusion have led to lowered self-esteem making these girls feel "unwanted" and "destroyed". The girls perceived their options as rather limited as there was an expressed notion of being "trapped" or "cornered".

Escape is found in fantasy as comfort is found in imagining perfection and fulfilment. It is this sense of hope that often sustains these girls. In some cases fantasy and reality begin to blend as aspirations seep into and color real-life perceptions. Such is the case with their boyfriends, who are seen as pillars of strength and adoration despite facts that indicate otherwise.

The amount of frustration is highlighted by the fact that 80% of these girls have attempted suicide. The peer conflicts, court difficulties, family disharmony and resulting feelings of loneliness and dispair have provoked these girls toward their attempts.

Being overwhelmed by their difficulties death offers the ultimate escape, holding the final promise of peace.

Violence and Abuse

Of the ten girls interviewed, nine have experienced some form of abuse, physical or sexual, with two girls reportedly being both sexually and physically abused in the home. The one girl who was not abused, did admit that stepfather had made advances toward her, fondled her in her sleep, but that mother kicked him out before a "real problem could develop".

The violence was not directed solely towards the girl herself, but was rather indicative of the general character of the family unit. Frequented fights and beatings were reported between all members of the family. Six girls had seen their mothers beaten by father, stepfather, boyfriend or some other family member. There were reports of siblings beating each other, father "punching out" sister in the bathroom, and even a case where one girl was stabbed by her own sister. The violence also included members of the extended family with incidents of brother-in-law beating sister, and nephew being beaten by uncle. The violence was not, however, limited to the family but was also seen quite frequently in school and on the streets. There were reports of seeing fights, gang fights, robberies, beatings, shootings and the like.

The following quote by a 14 year-old from Palolo depicts the kinds of chronic and ongoing violence repeatedly described by these girls. Talking of her father:

> He broke the ukelele over my head. I cannot do nothing. I cannot runaway...nothing. He just traps me. He just does it. He does it to my brother them too. He pulled a knife on them.

The same girl later related:

> Everytime my Mom does something right and he thinks she's doing something wrong, he always hits her. I can remember when my Mom was in a shelter. He beat her up so bad (at age 9). How often? Everytime when my dad drank... every week.

The emphasis here is that these girls have been living in a world where beatings and fights are either seen or experienced frequently. The abuse, for many of these girls, was part of the family's fabric, and it was chronic. It was part of the family pattern and means of interaction.

Much of the abuse was given under the guise of punishment with seven of the girls reportedly being hit, paddled, spanked or whipped for misbehaving. Of these seven, six consider the "lickins" they received as severe or beyond what could be considered normal discipline. Their punishments included: being thrown against walls, having their heads hit, being whipped with belts and iron cords, being hit with sticks, and even one incident where father cut the girl's hair off.

Said one 14 year-old, of her mother:

> She would get a whole belt and whip it right across me. I used to have long hair, my hair used to be down to my knees. So she used to wind her hair in my hair and let me have it. She would wack me all over. She used to break sticks over my leg.

Another 13 year-old related the following, pointing out a scar above her eye:

> I was suppose to be home at 7:30 and I was at my friends house eating dinner and I came home at 8:00. My brother-in-law, my sister and my father were already fighting so when I got home he was mad at me too. So he just looked at me and punched me and I had to go to the hospital.

Again we see a picture of the kinds of physical violence received and experienced. We have extreme forms of punishment, continued beatings and family disharmony.

Sexual Abuse

Three girls told of being sexually abused by different members of the family. As reported earlier, one more reported sexual advances made by stepfather that were halted before abuse became a problem. Another told of being raped by a family friend (see Table 6).

Of those three that were abused, the situations were chronic occurring regularly over a period of several years. One girl told of being raped by her stepfather at the age of three with the situation continuing for twelve years. Recalling the incident she says:

> I got raped when I was young, three years old, by my stepfather. My Mom was busy. She was out with someone. It happened all the way 'til I was fifteen ... My mom said I asked for it, that I deserved it.

Another girl of fifteen told of how she was both physically and sexually abused by her stepfather. Her story is particularly poignant and disturbing. Though she had been running away since the age of six, her stories of abuse were not believed until she was fifteen. This girl relates that her mother was heavily dependent upon drugs and alcohol and had either denied or ignored what was occurring. She describes mother as being "mentally vacant" during the repeated episodes of abuse.

> I was five, I got raped, then got raped again with a beer bottle. I was on the beach hemorrhaging and I woke up my mom and she looked at me and went right back to sleep cuz she was all drunk. And this happened every three nights for eleven years.

Table 6

INCIDENCE OF PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL ABUSE

Physical Abuse	Committed By	Sexual Abuse	Committed By
No	- - -	attempt made by stepfather	- - -
No	- - -	Yes	father
Yes	mother	No	- - -
Yes	mother	No	- - -
Yes	father/ stepmother	No	- - -
Yes	stepfather	Yes	stepfather
Yes	mother	No	- - -
Yes	mother/father	Yes	raped by father's friend
Yes	father	No	- - -

70% physically abused
30% no abuse

40% sexually abused
50% no abuse
1 halted attempt

20% both physically and sexually abused

After reviewing the personal experiences of these girls, it is important to consider the impact such violence has on these girls as well as their own response to it. Surprisingly, many felt quite ambivalent towards the violence and abuse feeling, on the one hand, that it was wrong, and, on the other, that it was somewhat deserved.

Of the six who reported abuse, four related at one time or another that they had "asked for" what they received. Punishment often resulted in bruises, stitches and broken bones, yet in their minds, their behavior somehow warranted these injuries.

A reflection of this ambivalence can be heard in the following as one girl states how she feels about her abuse:

> I take it but I don't think they should have to take it. The first time I didn't come home at all he beat me up and cut my hair. That's how come it stay short, it used to be long and it used to be over here ... I think I deserved it.

Says another girl of the beatings she received at home:

> I deserved it because my mom she give me everything I like and stuff like that. I had a good home, why I had to runaway from home and hurt her?

This girl reported that she was beaten with a belt and had so many welts on her legs that she couldn't walk, yet she is willing to accept the blame for the entire episode. She later noted that her brother told her that she had it coming.

Violence, it seems, has become such an integral part of their lives that it becomes difficult for them to distinguish between

punishment and abuse. Many have re-defined even extreme beatings as deserved and justified.

As violence is linked to misbehavior, love is linked to approved behavior. This intimate relationship between love and violence is quite often present in both family relationships and relationships with others.

One fourteen year old makes this connection between love and violence in reflecting over why her sister stays with her abusive husband, and also why she chooses to remain with her abusive boyfriend:

> I don't know, I guess that's why my sister stay with him, because she love him. And that's why I stay with (boy-friend) because I love him.

Another fifteen year old relates similar feelings:

> My stepdad used to slam her (mother) into the walls, punching her face. It happened about everyday. He always thought my mom was wrong and he was right. She fights back ... the same like me and my boyfriend.

Role expectations between men and women as seen by these girls also helps to perpetuate such relationshps. Men are viewed as strong and in control, often dominating the relationship. The abuse, then, becomes an extension of this attitude.

> I seen my friend's boyfriend beat them up all the time. Well ... if its someone that you're going with like your boyfriend then you just gotta take it. I don't know. It's part of everything.

Abuse and violence lead to lowered self-esteem as the girls allow themselves to be hit, and accept the fact that love is not unconditional, but gained through submission.

CONCLUSION

Demographically, while these girls come from widely diverse ethnic groups, they are overwhelmingly drawn from lower-income families. Both parents hold jobs which are highly sex typed and lower-status. While the girls admit involvement in a wide variety of crimes, all ten have been drawn into the criminal justice system for offenses typical of female offenders (status offenses). In interviews, though, it becomes apparent that these girls do not define themselves as delinquents, and, infact, feel that the delinquent label is unjustified.

The family environments in which these girls find themselves are highly unstable with divorces, separation, and death frequent occurrences. Relationships with parents are stained at best with most girls noted that they were unable to communicate with one, or both of their parents or step-parents. Family life was also characterized by high degrees of violence and abuse. Most girls had been severely beaten and, in some cases, sexually abused. Continual abuse and family disharmony has apparently led to lowered self-esteem and provoked feelings of being unloved and unworthy. Motivated by anger, neglect and frustration, many directly link their current unrest and problems with the law to their difficult family histories.

Outside of the home, the girls face a number of dilemmas pertaining to peers, future aspirations and sexuality. Turmoil in the home only further complicates outside relationships and heightens the problems experienced by normal teenagers in their pursuit of peer approval. Added to this, their low-income backgrounds

make it impossible to gain status through typical middle-class means. In their efforts to seek recognition and popularity, many girls turn into "bad girls" who party, fight and take drugs in order to gain status in the eyes of their peers. While holding a number of trying consequences (ex. complications with the police and aggravating strife at home), these girls see the "bad girls" image as one of the few options available to them. While far from perfect, being bad does manage to bolster popularity and allows these girls to gain some of the attention that they so desperately desire.

Notions suggesting that these delinquent acts are somehow related to an increased awareness of the women's movement are easily dismissed. These girls express highly traditional attitudes towards the place of men and women in society and express approval of these arrangements. The girls aspire careers most typically occupied by females, want to be married and anticipate large families. The girls see a clear dichotomy between male and female behavior where men were strong and assertive and women were passive and non-violent. Such attitudes influence relationships with romantic partners as the girls (holding true to their perceived roles) allowed themselves to be abused and bullied by their partners.

The nature of their family environments coupled with their limited perceptions of men and women in society foster and reinforce low self-esteem and alienation. The message given by family, friends and boyfriends tell these girls that they <u>are</u> bad and that their poor treatment is justified and deserved.

The girls seek to escape from their problems by selectively reminiscing about the past and fantasizing about the future. Ironically, they see their less than ideal boyfriends as rescuing them from their present difficulties. Marriage and family life are seen as a means of escape and offers hopes of bringing a sense of stability to their lives. Marriage is also seen as a way to permanently end their feelings of loneliness. The girls simply cannot afford to consider the actual character of their boyfriends least they be left alone to face their frustration and pain. Such fantasies continue to offer hope and lend a sense of assurance that things will somehow get better.

The delinquent female, then, is a special population with special feelings and needs. Attention needs to be paid to the adolescent female as an individual functioning and responding to her environment and her varying relationships with those around her. She is not mentally ill, nor is she suffering from hormonal problems. Rather, she is an individual trying to make sense of the world as she finds it. Her behavior, running away, experimentation with drugs, truancy and petty theft, are not pathological tendencies or maladaptive strategies. They are, in fact, attempts to live and, ultimately, attempts to survive.

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Interviewer_____ Date_____

Respondent's real name _____

This interview is being conducted by researchers who are associated with the University of Hawaii. We are anxious to understand and help girls who have gotten in trouble with the law. We have nothing to do with the police, probation, or the court. It is very important that you tell us the truth so we have set this interview to be totally confidential. The tape we will take of the interview will never get to the police, probation, the courts or your parents. It is totally private.

We are going to talk to over a hundred girls and we may write an article or a book about our study of you and the many other girls we are going to interview - but we will not expose what you tell me. We will always protect your identity. Do you understand? Do you have any questions? We would like to give you a phony name, so what name would you like to make up for yourself? (FIRST AND LAST)

_____

In this interview I will ask you some personal questions about your background, about sex, about your experiences and your feelings. I am not asking them to be snoopy, but to try to really get to know you and to understand you. If you don't tell me everything, or you don't tell me the truth, it will be useless. The truth is very important. Do you have any questions?

Let's go ahead then.

As you see, we are going to use a tape to record your answers to the interview quetions. I really hope that it won't slow you down. We are going to keep the tape in your fake name to protect you. But if at any time during the interview, you feel that the tape is slowing you down or changing the way you would talk, please let me know.

1._____ 1. What date is it today? _____

2._____ 2. How long have you lived in Hawaii? _____

3._____ 3. How old are you now? _____

4._____ 4. What is your birthdate? _____

5a._____ 5. Could you tell me the places where you've lived
5b._____ starting from....

6._____ 6. Where was your mom born? _____

7._____ 7. Where was your dad born? _____

8a._____ 8. What nationalities or races are you? _____
8b._____ _____

9._____ 9. Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your race (or ethnicity)? _____ Tell me about it.

10._____ 10. Have you ever been married? _____ Then you are single _____ divorced _____ etc.

11._____ 11. What were you busted for (this time)? _____
Tell me what really happened _____
_____

12._____ 12. Have you ever been in trouble with the police before? Please tell me about it, starting from the first time.
_____
_____

13a._____ 13. Have you ever spent time in Interim Home (D/H..etc.)?
13b._____ _____ How many times? _____ How was it for
13c._____ you there? _____

14._____ 14. Who raised you? (one or both or step parents)?
_____

15._____ 15. Who are you living with now? _____

16._____ 16. Who will you be living with in the future? _____

17._____ 17. Please tell me your whole story, like who you lived with and for how long, where...everything from the beginning.
_____
_____
_____

18._____ 18. What is your relationship with your real parents now? Do you get along? Visit? Trust? X
_____

19._____ 19. FOSTER: What is your relationship with your foster parents? (Get along? Visit? Trust? Want to live with?) X _____

20a. _____ 20b. _____ 20. Do you have brothers and sisters? (How many? Birth order? _____ Their situation-briefly- Get along? Close?) _____

21. _____ 21. What are your feelings about nuclear war? Do you think that you'll make it to old age? How often do you think about it? _____

22a. _____ 22b. _____ 22. What are your feelings about the women's movement? _____ Do you think women have things to complain about? (X) _____

23a. _____ 23b. _____ 23. Among all the women that you know, who do you admire? _____ What do you admire? Tell me about her. _____
Among all the men that you know, who do you admire? _____ What do you admire? Tell me about him. _____

OKAY, SOMETIMES I'M GOING TO ASK YOU TO TELL ME YOUR FEELINGS BY SHOWING ME WHERE YOU STAND BETWEEN TWO EXTREMES. FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT IS YOUR BEST FRIEND'S NAME? _____ OKAY, IF I ASK YOU TELL ME IF _____ SEEMS TO YOU TO BE A RELAXED OR A TENSE PERSON AND I TELL YOU THAT THIS POINT IS COMPLETELY RELAXED AND THAT THIS POINT IS VERY, VERY TENSE, AND THAT THE MIDDLE IS ABOUT AVERAGE...AND YOU CAN MARK ANYWHERE ALONG THE LINE. IF _____ IS PRETTY AVERAGE BUT A LITTLE ON THE TENSE SIDE, YOU COULD MARK HERE...OR SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN. IT'S A MATTER OF FEELING (SO THERE'S NO RIGHT AND WRONG).

Name _____

OKAY, HOW ABOUT YOUR FATHER? WHEN YOU WERE GROWING UP WAS HE:

37. _____	37.	WARM & LOVING X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	COOL & DISTANT
38. _____	38.	MOODY X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	EVEN TEMPERED
39. _____	39.	CALM X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	TROUBLED
40. _____	40.	GENTLE X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	VIOLENT
41. _____	41.	STRONG X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	WEAK
42. _____	42.	HAPPY X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	SAD
43. _____	43.	STABLE X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	UNPREDICTABLE
44. _____	44.	KIND X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	CRUEL
45. _____	45.	HARD WORKING X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	LAZY
46. _____	46.	STRICT X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	LENIENT
47. _____	47.	BEST FATHER X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	WORST FATHER
48. _____	48.	CAN TALK TO ABOUT EVERYTHING X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	CAN TALK TO ABOUT NOTHING
49. _____	49.	I TRUST HER X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ X	I DON'T TRUST HER

50a._____ 50b._____ 50. How did your parents punish you? (for little things? & for big things?) _____ What sorts of things did you do? _____

51._____ 51. What do you really like and dislike about your mother? X _____

52._____ 52. What do you really like and dislike about your father? X _____

53a._____ 53b._____ 53. Did your folks accept your going out with boys real easily or did they seem up tight about it? _____ Was there any age that they set up as being old enough to date? _____

54a._____ 54b._____ 54c._____ 54. Do you have a boyfriend now? _____ Is there someone you feel romantically towards? Tell me about him. How often do you see him? _____ How long have you known him? _____ How close are you with him? _____

55._____ 55. What do you especially like and dislike about him? _____

56._____ 56. Would you like to be living on your own or would you like to be living with your family? _____ What sorts of problems would you have living on your own? _____ What sorts of problems would you have living with your family? _____

57a._____ 57b._____ 57. What religion were you raised? _____ Do you go to church? _____

58._____ 58. When everything goes all wrong, and there is nothing you can do, do you pray? _____ What do you do? _____ What calms you down? _____

59._____ 59. What part does religion play in your life now? Is your religion: __very important __somewhat important __somewhat unimportant __very unimportant

60a._____ 60b._____ 60. What sorts of jobs has your father had? _____ _____ How much education did he finish? _____

61a._____ 61b._____ 61. What sorts of jobs has your mother had? _____ _____ How much education did she finish? _____

62a._____ 62b._____ 62. Are you in school now? _____ What school? _____ _____ What grade? _____ What is/was the name of the last school you attended? _____ What was the last grade you completed? _____

63._____ 63. How would you describe the economic situation of the family you grew up with? Would you say that they were __rich __upper middle __lower middle __somewhat poor __very poor

64a._____ 64. What sorts of jobs have you worked at? _____
64b._____ _____ How old were
64c._____ you when you started to work? _____ What was your first job? _____ Let's go through each job. Tell me what you did and how long you worked at the job.

65._____ 65. Have you given money to your parents? _____

66._____ 66. What do you use your money on? _____

67._____ 67. Do you drive? _____ Do you have a car? _____
How do you get around? _____

68._____ 68. Would you say that you have had bad or good luck at getting good jobs? _____

NOW SHUT YOUR EYES, RELAX, AND IMAGINE A PERFECT LIFE FOR YOURSELF IN THE FUTURE WHERE EVERYTHING WORKED OUT THE WAY YOU'D LIKE IT. OKAY, WHERE WOULD YOU BE LIVING?

69._____ 69. In this perfect future, how much education would you have? _____

70._____ 70. What sort of career would you have? _____
Describe this wonderful future to me. X

OKAY, BACK TO REALITY:

71a._____ 71. How has school been for you? _____
71b._____ Do you like it? _____ What sorts of trouble have
71c._____ you had in school? What do you like and what do you dislike about school? _____

72a._____ 72. What is your best subject? What is your worst? What
72b._____ What is your favorite?

73._____ 73. What did you have a reputation for when you were in elementary school? Did you like elementary school?
_____

74._____ 74. What did the other people think about you when you were in the higher grades (jr. and high school)? _____
_____ What sorts of kids did you hang around with in the higher grades? Tell me about them? What did you do with them? How often?
_____

Name _____

LET'S DO THAT FEELING THING AGAIN, BUT THIS TIME, I WANT YOU TO TELL ME WHAT YOU THINK THE KIDS AT SCHOOL THOUGHT ABOUT YOU (WHETHER IT WAS TRUE OR NOT)...HOW DID THE OTHERS SEE YOU? WERE YOU:

75. _____	75.	FRIENDLY	SHY
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
76. _____	76.	MELLOW	BAD TEMPERED
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
77. _____	77.	FUNNY	SERIOUS
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
78. _____	78.	SMART	DUMB
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
79. _____	79.	GOOD LOOKING	UGLY
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
80. _____	80.	HAPPY	SAD
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
81. _____	81.	STRONG	WEAK
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
82. _____	82.	WITH IT	OUT OF IT
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
83. _____	83.	NICE CLOTHES	YUCKY CLOTHES
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	
84. _____	84.	GOOD REPUTATION	BAD REPUTATION
		X — — — — — — — — — — — — — X	

85a._____ 85b._____ 85c._____ 85. Have you done drugs or done any drinking to speak of? _____ What drugs? X What sorts of drugs do you do now? X How often? _____

_____

86a._____ 86b._____ 86. What is your favorite drug? _____ What drug do you take most often? _____ How often? _____

87._____ 87. How would you describe the effect (A,B,C,...etc.) has on you? Has it caused you problems or did you handle it okay? _____

88a._____ 88b._____ 88. How did you first get into using (A,B,C,...etc.) X (LIFE SITUATION? / PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE?) _____

_____

89._____ 89. What sports do you like to play? How often? _____

_____

90._____ 90. What sorts of sports do you like to watch? _____

_____

91._____ 91. Do you like to cook? Are you a good cook? _____

_____

FOR THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS, REMEMBER THAT I AM NOT WITH THE POLICE OR THE COURTS. EVERYTHING THAT YOU TELL ME IS CONFIDENTIAL. SO YOUR ANSWERS TO THE NEXT FEW QUESTIONS ARE PRIVATE AND WILL NEVER BE USED AGAINST YOU OR TALKED ABOUT WITH ANYONE IN THE SYSTEM. SO PLEASE TELL ME EVERYTHING. OKAY, HERE GOES:

92._____ 92. Researchers like me who have interviewed average people, have found out that almost everyone has done some things that are against the law - like shoplifting or stealing - but they haven't gotten caught for it. How about you? Have you done shoplifting? _____ Tell me about it. X (WHAT / HOW OFTEN?)

93a._____ 93b._____ 93c._____ 93d._____ 93e._____ 93f._____ 93g._____ 93h._____ 93. Have you driven a car without a driver's license or permit? _____ How about driving while drunk or stoned? _____ . Have you ever driven too fast or wrecklessly? _____. Have you ever taken a car for a ride without the owner's knowledge? _____. Have you ever taken a tape deck or CB? _____. Have you ever taken little things ($3 or less) that did not belong to you? _____. How about things of medium value (from $3-$50)? _____. Any things worth more than $50 _____.

94a._____ 94. Have you ever passed a check or credit card, signing someone else's name? _____. Have you ever taken

94b._____
94c._____
94d._____
94e._____
94f._____

money or a wallet or a purse?_____. Have you ever used force to get money from another person? _____. Have you ever beaten up anyone who hadn't done anything to you?_____. Have you ever carried a gun? _____. A knife? _____.

95a._____
95b._____
95c._____
95d._____
95e._____
95f._____

95. Have you ever skipped school? _____. Have you ever been put on probation or detention? _____. What for? Did you ever run away from home? _____ Tell me about it. Have you ever sold something you stole? _____ What? Did you ever damage or destroy public or private property? _____. Have you ever had sex relatons with a girl? _____. Could you tell me about it.

96a._____
96b._____

96. Have you ever sold grass or other drugs to anyone? _____. Did you every use a phone I.D.? _____ What for? _____.

97._____

97. What else have you done that's illegal? _____

98._____

98. How do you feel about _____ (A,B,C,...etc.)? If you had it to do over again, would you?

99a._____
99b._____
99c._____

99. If you could give grades like "A", "B", "C", etc. like they do in school, what grade would you give the police in this town for how they treated you? _____ How about the people in the court? _____ How about the people in probation? _____

100a._____
100b._____

100. How did you feel about yourself, and how did you feel, period, while you were going through the system? What was hard for you? What was surprising to you? Did you feel that you could be understood?

101a._____
101b._____

101. Is there one, or a few persons in your life that you can really count on to talk to when you need to talk to someone? _____ Who? (AGE / AVAILABILITY / RELASHIP / AGE) _____

102._____

102. How about (AN ADULT? / PERSON YOUR OWN AGE?) _____

103._____

103. Which people do you feel have love for you in this world? X _____

104._____

104. Would you say that you are the kind of person that has __more __about the same or __fewer friends than other kids? Is it hard for you to make friends sometimes? _____

105._____

105. Have you ever beaten anyone up? _____ Have you ever punched or kicked anyone hard? _____ Could you tell me about it?

106a._____ 106b._____ 106. About how many hours a day do you watch TV? _____ What do you watch on a typical day? Sports? (WHICH?) Soaps? Do you ever watch boxing or wrestling?

107._____ 107. What movies have you really liked a lot? How often do you go to the show?

108._____ 108. What do you like to read? (MAGAZINES? BOOKS? NEWSPAPERS?) How often?

109a._____ 109b._____ 109c._____ 109. Have you ever seen your mother get hit or beaten up by a man? _____ Could you tell me about it? What was your earliest memory? _____ How often did it happen? _____

110a._____ 110b._____ 110. What were the circumstances of the beatings? I mean, was drinking, drugs, money, jealousy or something else involved? What would she do?

111a._____ 111b._____ 111. Could you tell that a beating was coming? _____ What would tip you off? _____ What would you do? How would you be feeling inside? How do you think it affected you?

112a._____ 112b._____ 112. Have you seen other women get beaten or abused? _____ What did she do? What do you think a woman should do in that situation?

113a._____ 113b._____ 113c._____ 113. Most kids get some spankings and punishments. What I'm talking about is different. Have you ever been really beaten? - Had dirty lickins? _____ Could you tell me about it? Who? How often? _____ How old were you when it first happened? _____

114a._____ 114b._____ 114. What did you do that brought on the beatings? What would you do? What went on inside of you when you went through this? (SIBLINGS?)

115._____ 115. Have you seen any other violence? _____ Tell me about it.

116._____ 116. I know that this can be a very private thing, but I want to know if you've ever thought about killing yourself? _____ Could you tell me about it.

117a._____ 117b._____ 117. Have you ever seriously thought about killing someone? _____ Who? Why? X

118a._____ 118b._____ 118. Do you think of yourself as a "tough" person? _____ Are yu ever scared? _____ When do you feel safe? In danger?

119._____ 119. If you met a guy that you wanted to get together with would you say that you know how to start a conversation and sort of warm up to him if you wanted to? _____

120._____ 120. Now, don't be modest, do you feel that you have that other "something" called sex appeal? _____ How do you know?

121._____ 121. Do you wear make up? __always __sometimes __rarely __never

122a._____ 122. Tell me, what sort of guys appeal to you? How would you describe the kind of boy you like? What do you definitely NOT like in a guy?
122b._____

123._____ 123. Do you have luck meeting the kind of guys you like?
_____

124. WHEN YOU ARE SIZING UP A GUY FOR A SERIOUS BOYFRIEND, OR EVEN POSSIBLE HUSBAND, SOMEDAY,...WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO YOU OF THE FOLLOWING THINGS? YOU HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN.....a guy who....

124a. A B A - is good looking ..... or ..... B - would "bring home the bacon.

b. A B A - has a lot of money ..... or ..... B - is warm and affectionate.

c. A B A - makes you laugh and have good times ..... or ..... B - would make a wonderful father.

d. A B A - has a career ahead of him ..... or ..... B - someone you can talk to about your real feelings.

e. A B A - is the kind of guy who would never cheat on you .... or ..... B - one who is a famous sports star.

f. A B A - is real smart and is going to use his brains to get ahead ..... or ..... B - one who is popular and has a lot of good friends.

g. A B A - is a good companion ..... or ..... B - is a famous person.

h. A B A - is from a good and well-off family ..... or .... B - is a real homebody.

i. A B A - is really handsome and a good dresser that you would feel proud to be seen out with ..... or ..... B - the kind of guy who would build you a nice house to raise your family in.

NOW, I WANT YOU TO RELAX AND USE YOUR IMAGINATION FOR A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS...SO, TAKE A DEEP BREATH, RELAX... SHUT YOUR EYES FOR A MINUTE AND IMAGINE YOURSELF WAY IN THE FUTURE, MANY, MANY YEARS FROM NOW...AS YOU REALLY WILL BE:

125a._____
125b._____
125c._____
125d._____
125e._____
125f._____
125g._____

125. Have you got the picture of yourself in the future? Make up the answers to the questions I'll ask you by telling me the first thing that comes to your mind. Like, how are you wearing your hair? About how old are you? _____ Are you working? _____ What do you do? _____ Are you married? _____ Are you happy? _____ Do you have kids? _____ How many? _____ What's ahead for you?

OKAY, BACK TO TODAY. I'M GOING TO CONTINUE TO ASK YOU QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR OPINIONS AND FEELINGS, LIKE...

126._____ 126. What do you think is the perfect age for marriage?

_____

127._____ 127. Ideally, would you like to have a long or short engagement period? How long?

128._____ 128. Do you know any women who do not have and do not plan to have any children? Are they happy? X

129a._____
129b._____

129. How do you feel about having children? Do you plan to have kids someday? _____ If everything went just the way you'd like it to, how many would you have?

_____

130a._____
130b._____

130. Do you know any women who are raising kids without the father around? _____ What do you think it is like for these women? How would you feel about it if you were in their shoes?

NOW I'M GOING TO ASK YOU SOME THINGS ABOUT SEX. I KNOW THAT NORMALLY THESE THINGS ARE PRIVATE, BUT I REALLY NEED TO KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT THESE THINGS IN ORDER TO REALLY UNDERSTAND YOU, AND WHAT YOU'VE BEEN THROUGH. AGAIN, EVERYTHING YOU TELL ME IS CONFIDENTIAL. OKAY, LET'S GO ON:

131a._____
131b._____
131c._____
131d._____

131. How old were you when you first got your period? _____ Please tell me how it happened and how you felt. Did you know about periods before you got yours the first time? _____ What did you know? Who had talked to you? Are your periods regular now? Painful? When was the last time you saw a gynecologist?

_____

132._____ 132. When you were growing up, who talked to you about sex? _____ What sorts of things did they tell you? What did they tell you?

133a._____ 133. When you were growing up, did anyone ever talk to you
133b._____ about the kind of guy to look for or the kind of boys to stay away from? _____ Did anyone talk to you about how to be smart and find happiness for yourself? Who? Tell me about it.

SOMETIMES PEOPLE COMMUNICATE THINGS WITHOUT TALKING. THEY TELL US WHAT THEY THINK OR WHERE THEY'RE COMING FROM AND WHAT THEY ARE GOING AFTER BY THE WAY THEY ACT. BY THE WAY THEY SPEND MONEY. ON THE THINGS THEY SPEND THEIR TIME ON. I WANT TO KNOW WHAT YOU SAW AROUND YOU WHILE YOU WERE GROWING UP.

134a._____ 134. Like, how are things different between the way men and
134b._____ women live?...Do men help around the house? _____
134c._____ Do men cook?_____ Do they wash dishes? _____
134d._____ Do they do laundry? _____ How do they help with
134e._____ the kids? _____ Do guys have more fun? _____ Do women take off and have fun on their own as much as men do? _____ How do men have fun? How do women have fun? _____

135a._____135. These days, some people say that boys get away with
135b._____ things or are given more freedom or privileges than girls. Do you think that this happens __very often __sometimes __very seldom, or __never? How do you feel about it? (Does it make you angry, or is it okay with you?)

136a._____ 136. Have you had sex? _____ Could you tell me about
136b._____ the first time, like how old you were? _____ Who?
136c._____ How did you feel? Was it a good or an unpleasant experience that first time? _____ How did you feel about yourself afterward? Tell me what happened after that?

137._____ 137. Do you worry about sex or is it something that you handle easily? _____

138a._____ 138. How do you feel about sex today? Where does it fit in
138b._____ your life? Do you like to have it regularly? Do you
138c._____ have climaxes? __almost always __most of the time __just sometimes __never

139a._____ 139. How often do you have sex now? _____
139b._____ Would you prefer more or less? _____

140a._____ 140. What do you not like about sex? What are you afraid
140b._____ of about sex? How do you think other girls feel about
140c._____ sex compared to you? Do you think you are different from most other girls? How?

141a._____ 141b._____ 141c._____ 141. Do you use birth control? __Always __Almost always __Sometimes __Never (Is it you or is it he who pushes the birth control? What do you use?)

142a._____ 142b._____ 142. Have you ever been pregnant? _____ Have you had a baby? _____ Please tell me about it. How do you feel things worked out? _____

143a._____ 143b._____ 143c._____ 143. Do you worry about getting pregnant? _____ What would you feel if you found out you were pregnant? _____ What would you do about the pregnancy? _____ Have you ever had an abortion? _____ Could you tell me about it? How do you feel about abortion? _____

144a._____ 144b._____ 144. How do you think sex is different for guys than it is for girls? How do boys usually feel about a girl they've just had sex with?

145a._____ 145b._____ 145c._____ 145d._____ 145e._____ 145. I know that this is something that you might want to bury and forget about, but it would be good for both of us if you'd talk about it now...and that is: Have you ever been forced into sex against your will? _____ Could you tell me about it? Who was the guy? _____ _____ How old were you? _____ How did you feel when it was happening? How about afterward? How do you deal with it now? Did you talk to anyone about it? _____ Who? Did you ever report it to the cops? _____ Did you think of it as "rape," then? _____ What would you do if this same thing happened to your own daughter? How would you handle him? How about her?

146a._____ 146b._____ 146. Has an adult ever tried to fool around with you sexually? Could you tell me about it? How old were you? What happened? How did you feel? (During? After? Today?)

147a._____ 147b._____ 147. OKAY, LET'S CHANGE THE SUBJECT: Can you type? How well? Is it the sort of thing you would like to do, or would you mind a sitting job like that?

148._____ 148. Do you dance? How often? Is it a lot or a little or no fun for you?

149a._____ 149b._____ 149. Do you remember your dreams? Tell me the last dream that you still remember. _____

150a._____ 150b._____ 150. Are you ever bothered by bad dreams or out and out "nightmares?" _____ Is it the same dream? _____ How often do you have them? _____ Could you tell me what you remember.

151._____ 151. Everyone feels lonely and sad sometimes. Would you say that you feel lonely: __an awful lot of the time __some of the time __a little bit __hardly ever

152a._____ 152. What sort of situations are real hard for you? (What
152b._____ makes you feel bad?) X What makes you get mad? Do
152c._____ you lose your temper? What sort of things scare you? How often do you feel scared? What are you most ashamed of yourself for? Could you tell me about it?

153._____ 153. What do you really enjoy doing? I mean, what really is fun for you? How often do you...? X

154._____ 154. What makes you feel good about yourself? X

155a._____ 155. What do you think other people like about you? What do
155b._____ they dislike about you? Do most people like you: __a lot __some __a little __not at all?

156._____ 156. I know that it might feel like a funny thing to talk about, but really try to tell me what you are most proud of yourself for? _____

157a._____ 157. Did your folks ever praise you about things you did?
157b._____ _____ Did they ever tell you you were pretty good at something? What? What did they say they were ashamed of you for? How did you feel about their praise? Their criticism?

OKAY, LET'S DO THAT FEELING THING ABOUT YOU. NOT HOW OTHERS SEE YOU BUT JUST WHAT YOU REALLY FEEL LIKE TO YOURSELF MOST OF THE TIME. DO YOU FEEL...

158. _____	158.	HAPPY	SAD
159. _____	159.	STRONG	WEAK
160. _____	160.	CLEAN	DIRTY
161. _____	161.	RELAXED	TENSE
162. _____	162.	HIGH	LOW
163. _____	163.	SWEET	BITTER
164. _____	164.	HEAVY & SERIOUS	LIGHT & BREEZY
165. _____	165.	BEAUTIFUL	UGLY
166. _____	166.	SOFT	HARD
167. _____	167.	GOOD	BAD
168. _____	168.	GENTLE	VIOLENT
169. _____	169.	GOOD HUMORED	BAD TEMPERED
170. _____	170.	SEXY	UNSEXY
171. _____	171.	WELL-LIKED	NOT LIKED
172. _____	172.	SMART	DUMB
173. _____	173.	FREE	CAUGHT
174. _____	174.	HOPEFUL	HOPELESS
175. _____	175.	SAFE	IN DANGER
176. _____	176.	LUCKY	UNLUCKY
177. _____	177.	WELL-DRESSED	SHABBY
178. _____	178.	GOOD-LOOKING	UGLY

179._____ 179. Looking back at the way you were brought up, how you were treated as a kid...What would you do differently with your own kids? _____

180a._____ 180. Looking back and considering everything, what do you
180b._____ really think got you into trouble? X What do you
180c._____ really like about yourself? Seriously. X

WE'RE ALMOST PAU, BUT BEFORE WE END, LET'S RELAX AGAIN, TAKE A DEEP BREATH, SHUT YOUR EYES, AND USE YOUR IMAGINATION TO PICTURE YOUR LIFE AHEAD OF YOU IF EVERYTHING WENT ALONG BEAUTIFULLY FROM NOW ON...BRINGING YOU HAPPINESS...

181a._____ 181. Tell me about your imagined perfect future. (PROBE
181b._____ WHAT TIME PERIOD IS BEING PROJECTED, FAMILY, CAREER,
181c._____ WEALTH, etc.)
181d._____

182._____ 182. What do you think might get in your way of having this perfect life ahead? _____

183._____ 183. Well, we're winding up this interview. Is there anything you want to go back and change or tell me more about? Do you think you answered anything wrong? Can you tell me about it now? _____

THAT'S IT....THANK YOU SO MUCH!

INTERVIEWER ONLY

184._____ 184. General observations and comments on the interview:

185._____ 185. Do you think the respondent was telling the truth
__all the time __only occassionally
__most of the time __not at all

186a._____ 186. What questions or topics do you suspect were dishonestly
186b._____ answered or not understood? Specify:

187._____ 187. How would you rate the way that the interview went overall in terms of rapport and openness?
__excellent __very good __pretty good (average)
__poor __a failure (the data are probably useless)

188._____ 188. How would you rate the respondent's looks? __beautiful still __pretty __average __below average looks

189._____ 189. How would you rate the respondent's personal charm/ bearing? __above average __average __below average

190._____ 190. How would you rate the respondent's intelligence?
__way above average __above average __average
__below average __way below average

Ideas and insights about the respondent, the interview, the research project, or theory. (Comments)

Interviewer: please go back over the schedule and circle the number of the questions that elicited a deep or revealing response.